

The I. W. W. is the ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION of the WORKING CLASS; It Has No Political Affiliation and is Controlled by no Political Party

# The Industrial Union Bulletin

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

"LABOR IS ENTITLED TO ALL IT PRODUCES"

Vol. I. No. 52.

CHICAGO, FEBRUARY 22, 1908.

50c. a Year.

## LABOR FEDERATION SEPARATES THE WORKERS

### Dastardly Work of "Labor Leaders" in Organizing Scab Unions

The American Federation of Labor!

The American Federation of Labor!

The American Separation of Labor!

These are synonymous. Simply the different names of a so-called labor organization that is ostensibly formed to protect the interests of the workers who compose its membership; and if there was an excuse, it would be that it would be to organize the working class and thereby do all in its power to better the conditions of the working people.

But the American Federation of Labor, with its numerous aliases, is an obsolete organization; it is utterly incapable as a labor organization of meeting the requirements of present conditions.

"Federation of Labor" should really mean, that its members are organized for mutual support and to resist the efforts of the employing class, with the attempt to lower the standard of living, not only of its own members, but of the working class in general; and in the meantime, to strive to organize the workers who are not organized. Not only that, but "Federation of Labor" should mean that the main object of such an organization is to emancipate the working class from economic servitude—to give the producers of wealth the produce of their labor.

But in reality what do we find the American Federation of Labor doing?

What has it done?

Look at its record. The American Federation of Labor pretends to condemn "scabbing." Yet what does the history of the American Federation of Labor show?

The history of the American Federation of Labor shows that time and time again it has scabbed upon itself. The instances are too numerous to mention, where one union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor has scabbed upon another union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

One set of workers belonging to the American Federation of Labor following certain trade, working in a certain industry, go on strike for better conditions, or are locked out by the bosses; but other workers also members of the American Federation of Labor, engaged in various other trades in the same building, etc., remain at work, thereby helping the bosses to defeat their fellow workers and fellow unionists.

Is not this scabbing? The American Federation of Labor has built barracks to house scabs and barriques to protect scabs.

American Federation of Labor members have hauled provisions, clothing, bedding, etc., for the benefit of scabs.

And those American Federation of Labor men call themselves union working men!

They are not union working men. Union working men cannot be traitors to their class.

Not only has the American Federation of Labor repeatedly scabbed upon itself, but it has scabbed on other labor organizations.

Furthermore, the American Federation of Labor breeds dissension amongst the working class, for it strives to divide the working class into classes: namely, the "Aristocracy of Labor," with its various "titles," which includes "skilled" laborers and the so-called unskilled laborers, which the "would be aristocrats" of labor prefer to call the "common class" of labor.

But modern industrial development tends to bring all classes of labor to an equal level. The skilled worker who is a pure (?) and simpler, by his actions insists that he is a superior human being to the common laborer.

The question may be asked, "How? Well he wants certain wages for his labor, but he would consider it presumptuous for the common laborer to ask for the same wages, thereby showing that the standard of living he, in his opinion, the common laborer is not entitled to."

The so-called "aristocrat of labor" persists that he and his family, if he has one, should have a better living than the common laborer, his wife and family.

We also find that there are other pure and simple so-called labor organizations not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, such as locomotive engineers, locomotive firemen, conductors, brakemen, switchmen, etc., that subvert the good will of the masters to help defeat the workers.

Union locomotive engineers run trains loaded with scabs, with the assistance of so-called other union men, such as conductors, brakemen, switchmen, etc.

All pure and simple labor organizations teach the working class that there is an identity of interest between capital and labor.

Yet why are the members of those unions constantly engaged in conflict with their masters?

But these pure and simple labor unions (more simple than pure), being organized on credit lines, make themselves an easy prey for the bosses, for when one

craft goes on strike the other crafts remain at work—SCABBING.

This is craft unionism, appropriately named.

In contradistinction to "craft unionism" the Industrial Workers of the World is organized on industrial lines.

If the workers were organized in the Industrial Workers of the World, should a strike or lockout be declared in any department of any one industry, the workers engaged in that department, or in that industry, or all industries, if necessary, would cease work.

The Industrial Workers of the World maintains that in the disputes between the master class and the working class the master class is the concern of one worker to one worker is the concern of all workers."

The pure and simple craft unions repeatedly have jurisdictional fights, and in their conventions they consume considerable time trying to adjudicate the differences of the contending unions, and no matter what way the disputes are settled there is always dissatisfaction.

At a recent convention of the building trades of California over a ton of material was exhibited, and the discussion lasted several days in a controversy between the Lathers Union and the Structural Iron Workers' Union as to which union was entitled to put on metal lathing.

The decision was given in favor of the Structural Iron Workers. That means that the lathers can only work where wood laths are used, and metal lathing is fast superseding wood lathing, so what will become of so-called trade of the lathers is easy to see.

At the same convention a dispute between the Bricklayers' Union and the Tile Setters' Union caused considerable animosity. The quarrel was over the question which union was entitled to set the tiles on the outside of buildings.

The tile setters won out, and as a consequence the Bricklayers' Union have withdrawn from the Building Trades Council and are in open revolt.

This is the second defeat the bricklayers have suffered in jurisdictional squabbles within a short time, and consequently they are rather sore.

The last wrangle the bricklayers engaged in was with the Concrete Workers' Union and the Bricklayers lost.

Reinforced concrete is being largely used in the construction of modern buildings, and as a result the bricklaying trade suffers to that extent.

So between the concrete workers and the tile setters the bricklayers are getting hard hit.

They can foresee their aristocratic trade vanishing.

The bricklayers are making all kinds of charges against the president of the building trades, the well-known labor baker, P. H. McCarthy, and others of his ilk. P. H. McCarthy's record in the labor movement as a scab master is well known. He has organized time and again unions, and the other unions that were on strike, and his last achievement in his special line of business was when the members of Electrical Workers No. 6 were getting six dollars a day, and because they refused at Dr. W. C. Rucker, of the United States Marine Hospital Service, advised the unemployed to turn rat-catchers, for said that they could make good remunerative wages by doing so.

A meeting of the Organized Labor Protective League was held in Waller's Pavilion, this city, on Sunday, February 9th. This pseudo organization, the woman's industrial development had forced the woman to assume the position as the man—wage slavery. In the course of her address she rapped the craft unions and the pure and simple political Socialists impartially, and pointed to industrial unionism as the salvation of the workers, the highest and most enlightened expression of Socialism as embodied in the I. W. W. Her points were generally applauded throughout the audience.

The meeting was an insult to the working class. One of the speakers, Dr. W. C. Rucker, of the United States Marine Hospital Service, advised the unemployed to turn rat-catchers, for said that they could make good remunerative wages by doing so.

John W. Sweeny, president of the Iron Council, also president of the San Francisco Labor Council, advised the working people of San Francisco to boycott goods made in the eastern part or any other part of this country when the same can be produced in San Francisco. As far as John W. Sweeny is concerned, the working people of any other part of the United States can starve.

Yet this same John W. Sweeny is a prominent leader in a so-called labor organization—the American Federation of Labor—and the organization tries to delude the workers that they stand for the interests of the working class.

Workers meet and working women, judge this organization, and judge its leaders and members, not by what they claim to be, but judge them by their actions.

At the same meeting another prominent leader of a pure and simple so-called labor organization, A. J. Gallagher, secretary of the San Francisco Labor Council, made the dire threat that if the employers would not furnish work for the unemployed, the working class would withdraw all of its money from the banks, and thereby the working class would be enabled to put the employing class—to quote a descriptive phrase—"on the bum!"

Such silly rot emanating from a man who poses as a labor leader proves that he is either a fool or a knave.

The Industrial Workers of the World stands for the solidarity of labor the world over.

The Industrial Workers of the World does not want one section of the working class to benefit at the expense of another section of the working class.

The Industrial Workers of the World stands for the working class, not for juries, committees, wake up and declare the strike off.

The Iron Trades Council is also whining. John W. Sweeny, president of the Iron Trades Council, who, by the way, is also president of the San Francisco Labor Council as well as national organizer of the patternmakers, recently declared that members of the Iron

Building Trades Council of San Francisco, but not affiliated with the Iron Trades Council, are handling "unfair" work—in plainer terms, they are scabbing, inasmuch as the steel used in the framework of certain large buildings now in course of construction in this city is made, according to the president of the Iron Trades Council, by non-union boycotted firms!

One of those buildings—the Phelan building—is where the scab-made steel building—the framework is completed. The work was done by union structural iron workers, although they knew it was scab-made steel they were handling. Of course other union men will finish that building and will also complete the other buildings in which according to the unionists scab-made steel is being used.

And so it is always down or up along the line among these rotten, graft-ridden, pure and simple craft unions, that they are continually fighting among themselves, accusing each other of scabbing, etc., while the labor bakers and grafters wax fat and thrive on the interneccine quarrels among these so-called craft unions.

The labor bakers want the working class divided. It is to their interest not to have the working class unite, for the more petty unions there are there are more jobs for labor bakers, and the more spoils for them. So as a consequence these same labor bakers are continually accusing each other of grafting and scabbing, and hurling all kinds of charges against each other, and very evidently they know each other intimately, for they all speak the TRUTH.

Hard times have reached the Pacific coast where are several thousands of men out of work in every city on the Pacific coast.

At present there are at a conservative estimate over forty thousand wage slaves unemployed in San Francisco, and San Francisco is considered one of the best places in the country at present. There are hundreds of homeless men roaming the streets all night in this city seeking some box car, vacant building, or any other place, where they may lay down to try and get a few hours rest.

The bread line—a symbol of working class prosperity—is seen on the streets of San Francisco.

In one place, the jobless wage slaves begin to congregate before 5 a. m. every morning where "greasy, lukewarm water," which the dispensers of same call "coffee" is doled out with a few slices of stale bread to each one of the waiting throng, provided there is enough to go around. A similar kind of "greasy fluid" is termed "soup."

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Working men and working women, do your duty!

The Industrial Workers of the World is fighting your fight—the fight of the working class.

Your help is needed to emancipate the working class.

Join the union of your CLASS—the Industrial Workers of the World.

D. T. MURPHY.

San Francisco, Cal.

#### Agricultural Workers

After having read the article on organization of agricultural and lumber workers in the general secretary's report to the second annual convention we have been instructed to make the following recommendations:

That the general office send out a circular letter to the Pacific coast locals of the I. W. W. pointing out the fact that employment can be secured by I. W. W. men in lumber camps during the summer months, and in the orange belts of southern California during the winter months. We think that by the co-operation of the lumber locals and the agricultural workers we can organize the agriculture and lumber industry, which are the basic industries of the Pacific coast. We think that too much energy is being wasted by I. W. W. men in the Pacific towns, which are the strongholds of the A. F. L. guilds. Many of our members have worked in two industries for several years. We would also like the address of all Pacific locals to a typewriter sheet, in order to enlighten them on the conditions prevailing in the orange belt, as we are in Redlands now.

Wages are \$2 per day for orange pickers by the day work of nine hours. Labor about packing houses, \$2 a day, except the girls, who work piece work. Your cabins for batching, from \$2 per month up. Meals are 15 cents and up. Rent, (furnished), \$1.50 per week. Winter seasons, from January to June; besides there are several short winter seasons.

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CHICAGO, FEBRUARY 22, 1908

## THE FEARS OF A POLITICIAN

Mr. Taft, choice of Mr. Roosevelt for president, subject to a ratification by a lot of Mr. Roosevelt's officeholders who expect to retain their jobs under Mr. Taft, affording the country another example of the game of politics as it is played for the deception of the great American voter, is receiving a good deal of attention just now from the intellectual prostitutes of the capitalist press. To the labor movement he is known principally as the original injunction judge. But this is not Taft's only title to distinction. He has a prior claim. Among all the prominent politicians in the country today he has a right to be known as the original opponent of Socialism.

Back in 1894 Taft delivered an address before the law students of the University of Michigan. It was an address that, according to the reports of the time, "went to the root of things." He was then a Federal judge and expressed himself as being greatly disturbed over "a change of sentiment in certain of our people." This change he found in the acceptance "by our people of the doctrines of Socialism," which "make a thoughtful man fear that if the tendency is to grow in popular weight and intensity our boasted constitutional guarantees of property will not be worth the parchment on which they were originally written."

That fear was believed to be well grounded when it was uttered, fourteen years ago. At that time the Socialist sentiment found expression at the ballot box to the extent of less than 30,000 votes. Yet it was sufficient to disturb Judge Taft and make thoughtful men pause over the possible destruction of the "guarantees of property."

After the lapse of fourteen years, during which the Socialist (?) votes have increased from 30,000 to 400,000, the former judge, now prospective president, holds very much the same views and entertains the same fears. Just recently he said: "If the abuses of monopoly and discrimination cannot be restrained, Socialism will triumph and the institution of private property will perish." Mr. Taft is no more disturbed by Socialist votes in 1908 than he was in 1894.

Whether the institution of private property shall perish or persist depends then upon the success which monopolistic masters have in "restraining" themselves—of course, through the political machine of which Taft himself, we are told, will soon be the official head. Since the institution of private property has been built up and is maintained by the owning class largely through the control of men of the Taft breed—that is, by lawyers—it is well for members of the working class to ask themselves if the "next president," as the official head of the political department of capitalism, can restrain the "abuses of monopoly." And it should not be forgotten that the present political representative of capitalism at Washington has signally failed to do what Mr. Taft says must be done if the "institution" is to be preserved.

Mr. Taft is a lawyer, and a lawyer who firmly believes in the institution of private property. He belongs to the property-owning class. In his training and habits of mind he is essentially a defender of that class. If he were not so, then he could not be president. Most, if not all, the laws which he has helped to make and administer are laws in the interest of property. They are laws opposed to the interests of those who toil. Law should stand for human rights; Taft makes law stand for property rights. Taft has no such noble conception as that of the poet who said:

"Before the law was written down with parchment or with pen—  
Before the law made property, the moral law made men;  
Law stands for human rights, but when it fails those rights to give,  
Then let law die, my brother, but let human beings live."

Taft will serve the economic masters of the land, just as others have done. The institution of private property—in the essential means of life, the resources, tools and opportunities of employment—will perish by no act of the Roosevelts or Tafts. Under their administration of the political agencies of capitalism it will rather gain extension of its lease of power in efforts to deceive the workers with false ideas of free government. Taft will not be president in the interest of human rights and the class which creates wealth by the expenditure of its labor power, but in the interest of the dominant economic class and of private property. So long as the working class is dependent on the present owners of productive capital for a job and a living, so long will that class be economically impotent. When the workers shall put life and opportunity to live above statute books and parchments and organize to control for their own use the means of life and opportunity, they will succeed, and with their success Socialism triumphs. Industrial organization, not votes, will disturb the class served by Mr. Taft.

## AN AGENT OF THE CAPITALISTS

The great mass of Americans are victims of the delusion that all the autocrats in the world live in Russia, or other "foreign" parts, and that the United States is free from that species of rulers. The notion is, of course, as silly as most political ideas entertained by the money-grubbing descendants of the Pilgrim fathers, who have in their quest for wealth departed as far from the ideals of some of their forbears as it is possible to go and still preserve any resemblance to free government. The average American who traces his lineage back to revolutionary days is oblivious to the fact that in the American system of government there has developed an autocrat who wields a power unapproached by that of scarcely any single individual in the world. We refer to the speaker of the house of representatives. Occupying a position to which he is not chosen by the people, he is the tool of the great syndicates, trusts and combines which control the country's industries. These capitalist combines, through a political department maintained by them to conserve their economic power, select from among the representatives elected "by the people" a speaker who can be depended upon to safeguard their interests. The result is that the speaker is the man depended upon to see to it that no legislation inimical to capitalist interests is allowed to pass. His election is invariably nothing more than a ratification of the choice made by the masters of the "system"; it is nothing more nor less than the economic power of a class in control of the speaker, who, in turn, controls the acts of the supposedly popular branch of government. The trusts, combines and syndicates are behind and around the speaker's chair; they are in the committee rooms wherever economic questions are discussed; they follow a measure from its inception to its triumph (if it serves their interests) and to its death if it is against them. And in the regulation of the whole machine of framing up bills the speaker is the supervisor and autocrat.

The working class interest in this situation—the economic power behind politics—should be aroused by the statement of the fact that the present speaker regards the working "fool" and always has the knife out for any measure favoring of working class interests. He reflects the mind of those who made him. The country affords no stronger proof that economic power dominates political institutions than this species of the speaker's house, representing capital, clothed with the power to frustrate the will of men whose economic and political impotence he laughs at. It is up to the workers to organize in the industrial field in a manner so effective that they will be able to dominate the economic power of their present masters and put the political kibosh on the congressional autocrat. To attempt the latter without thorough economic organization, powerful enough to control the industries of the land, is to invite failure. Hence, the I. W. W. organizes the workers to control the mill, mine, factory, workshop and transportation service. The secret of the speaker's power is the support of those who control the economic resources of the country.

An Appeal to the  
Old Guard of Frisco

Get busy, workers! It is now nine months since the writer left Frisco. He has returned hoping to see the old guard at the post, as in the days gone by; but to his sorrow he finds that most of the veterans of No. 173 have allowed themselves, for one reason or another, to drop out.

Strange to say, the majority seem to have grown weary of the fight, while others have allowed themselves to drift away for the first time due to an unavoidable internal strife in the ranks.

This is an appeal to you to "wipe the slate clean," and once more take your place in the ranks of the only bona-fide working-class organization in the land.

To those who have grown weary of the struggle, this is an appeal to regain courage and hope, and once more take your place in the ranks. For nine months the writer has traveled a good deal of the western part of the country, and while it may not appear so in San Francisco, the fact is that the only organization that is up and doing in the revolutionary work is the I. W. W., the organization of our class.

It is to this organization that the thousands of wage slaves are giving their fire on you, will you desert? What kind of a soldier are you, then?

The enemy, the labor faker and the rest, are centering their attack on us to destroy the only bona-fide economic movement of labor. In the years gone by you attacked the labor misleader, but your efforts were well nigh in vain; you had no organization to offer to the despairing proletaire. But now there is an organization; your duty is to line up. In the past, it was not the right of today. The revolutionary movement now is not only backed by the capitalist class, by Gompers, F. F. of L., but also by the "me, too" industrial unionist (?), who hopes to once more mislead the discontented workers. Your aid is needed to keep the organization that it may carry out its aim—the emancipation of labor. You will reply: "Notwithstanding I am not a member, I do my share of the propaganda; I will be there when the time comes."

Now, capitalism teaches the workers one thing above all, and that is that by united efforts greater achievements can be accomplished than by individual efforts. What kind of consistency do you call it to talk I. W. W. principles and then you, the expounder, holding aloof?

You are active in the ranks, fighting shoulder to shoulder with the rest, with our faces set against the common foe—the capitalist master and his enemies.

Others of you call yourselves Socialists; but of what utility are you Socialists ideals and knowledge? If you neglect to do your part in the building of the economic organization necessary to achieve labor's emancipation?

Sitting in a closet and hoping for the day when wage slavery shall be at an end is of no avail unless we roll up our sleeves and do our share collectively in dethroning the robber class.

The local union, No. 173, is maintaining its headquarters and free reading room at No. 158 Fifth street. Come and see.

With these few words it is hoped that all of you will once more rally to the colors.

Make the I. W. W. in San Francisco the organization it should be. Remember the summer of 1906 when the I. W. W. made up and took notice. All that was due to the united effort of all of us.

The same can be done again. Good tactics and sound judgment means success for the I. W. W. McCarthy's Building Trades Council is beginning to fail. It is now time to line the men up in this organization.

Will you help? Let us hope so. With best wishes,

Yours for Industrial Freedom,  
JOSEPH J. ETTOR,  
National Organizer, I. W. W.  
San Francisco, Cal.

One thing observed by organizers of the I. W. W. in the field is that the fellow who most commonly takes the job of a striking worker and serves as a scab is a native American. All those of foreign birth will refuse to work and stand pat; but the real scabs are native Americans.

When notifying the office of change of address it should not be forgotten that all changes received after Tuesday forenoon of each week go over until the following. All changes received up to Tuesday morning are made for the same week.

The Mexican defense committee informs The Bulletin that an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States has been secured in the case of the Mexicans under arrest at Los Angeles.

Under the auspices of Millinery Workers Industrial Union No. 53, of New York, Miss Jane A. Roulston spoke on Monday, February 17.

The District Council of Newark, N. J., held its first meeting for the new term last Sunday, at which new delegates were seated.

Jas. T. Hunter, of New York, lectured under the auspices of Paterson (N. J.) District Council, Sunday afternoon, February 16.

Jas. P. Thompson spoke last Sunday, February 16, at Paine Memorial Hall, Boston, on Industrial Unionism and the I. W. W.

On Saturday, the 15th inst., Local Union 160, Hartford, Conn., gave an entertainment and dance.

From the Seattle District

A few weeks ago I sent in a short article reviewing the I. W. W. situation in Seattle and vicinity. Possibly a few paragraphs upon the same matter will be of interest to many of the wage slaves who read The Bulletin weekly, and for that reason I shall jot off a few of the steps of progress as seen from an industrial point of view.

The chartering of the Public Service Workers' Union so far appears to be making a success. Through it three language branches have been organized—Italian, Greek and Servian—which are all doing nicely. Meetings are as follows: Monday nights the Italian branch; Tuesday nights, the Public Service Workers' Union; Wednesday nights, the Servian branch; Thursday nights, the Greek branch; and Sundays at 1 p. m. the executive committee, which has been formed of two delegates from each union and branch, meets to transact the business necessary to maintaining a large headquarters, etc. Also each Sunday evening the mixed local conducts a good propaganda meeting, which is attended by a few hundred generally.

The Italian branch has "branched" out and opened a headquarters at Renton, a small coal mining camp about twelve miles from Seattle. The Servian branch has also elected a delegate to go to Renton to look after the interests of their nationmen. The Greek branch will follow suit, and the mixed local will send a delegate or organizer for the English-speaking workers.

In addition to this the Public Service

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# BROTHERHOOD OF CAPITAL AND LABOR

## Illustrated by the Capitalistic Seamen's Union of the Pacific Coast

The craft unions of the Brotherhood of Capital and Labor, generally known as the American Federation of Labor, have about completed their organization on the Pacific coast. The workingmen, who have for over twenty years been kept divided, shackled and duped by their various Job Trust Security Association, are now questioning as to their identity of interest with Brother Capital, and the many who have been led to better their economic condition on the route of high initiation, job-preserving fees and the harmonious relationship contract, now find themselves amongst the great army of unemployed, while a general reduction in wages, steadily introduced by Brother Capital in our craft unions, after another. Thousands upon thousands of working people organized on the coast into the American Separation of Labor, and now find themselves divided and helpless to resist a fall in wages. The ship owners are now busy in forcing a reduction on the engineers and firemen, and many steamers are laid up, while the men are slowly starved into submission; and when the engineers and firemen are brought to time it will render it possible to run the vessels and ignore the sailors. The running cooks' and stewards' help have been reduced in various instances. Still the sailors have been held in unions who have raised their initiation fees within the last few months for fear that some hungry unemployed might still have about \$25 or more to invest for the master of their craft line. The officers of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific are trying to preserve their union by attempting to raise the monthly dues 25 cents, as it stands to reason that a vast number of its members are headed and unable to pay dues. Nevertheless, in spite of results, the Sailors' Union had agreed to its preamble to quit on an extent, after forcing the most vital clause contained in the pact, which reads as follows: "We will, therefore, try by all just means to promote harmonious relations with those in command by exercising due care and diligence in the performance of the duties of our profession and by giving all possible assistance to our employers in taking care of their gear and property." Many members have been fined or expelled for action taken on their part that tended towards the violation of said clause.

The secretary of the Sailors' Union, Andrew Furuseth, who has been isolated by many wage-workers of the coast since the year 1891, has rendered a valuable service in promoting friendly relations between the exploiter and the exploiter, and deserves more credit in the giving all possible assistance to the employer than any other labor (mis)leader of the International Seamen's Union of America. Most of this service has been given from the time of the waterfront strike in San Francisco, which was inaugurated about August 30, 1901, and came to a settlement within three months. Shortly after the strike the ship owners offered to draft a friendly contract with the Sailors' union. There were a few dissenting remarks, but at the time as to entering into a signed contract with the ship owners, Andrew carried the day by sentimental weeping and by emphatically asserting that it was one of the greatest victories the Sailors' Union had ever won when they could bring the ship owners to submit themselves in a contract with the union. A committee, consisting of the proposers, was elected and the contract was drafted and shoved off the seamen and repeated, and the same was done until the year 1903. The friendly relationship is at present still maintained by what is known as a secret agreement, not to be made known to the public. This move was inaugurated some time in November, 1906, but as to how it has been conducted or accepted is beyond the knowledge of the general rank and file, as none of them seems to know or be able to give any satisfactory account of it. As to the signed contracts, a brief illustration of the one existing in different periods of 1895 and 1904 will give a correct idea of the total. The contracts were subdivided with three different associations. With the Steam Schooner Men's Association expiring February 1, 1905; with the Oceanic Steamship Company expiring April 15, 1904; with the Ship Owners' Association, expiring April 20, 1905. With the two first named associations were included the Marine Firemen's Union and the Marine Cooks' and Stewards' Union, as well as the Sailors' Union, and with the latter the Sailor's Union only. There is a relative interest between the three different associations. The signers of the first name, W. C. Jortail, secretary pro tem of Sailors' Union; Wm. McDonald, secretary of Firemen's Union; A. F. Steidle, secretary of Cooks' Union. Second named, A. Furuseth, McDonald and Steidle, and with the latter, A. Furuseth, F. A. Erickson, W. McArthur, F. D. Anderson, W. Jortail, C. Jortail and E. Ellison, authorized committee. The contracts or agreements have specifically provided against sympathetic strikes, and no pay for overtime work performed for the safety of vessels and cargo. It also has provided, against a lump sum demand or payment for a single voyage for sail vessels, generally known as signing for the run, and the bringing of booze on the oceanic steamers, where the booze is sold aboard vessel at higher price. It further has provided for a stipulated wage scale of \$40 per month for sail vessels, \$45 for steam vessels and \$5 extra per month for vessels trading to outside landings.

The ship owners submitted to hire no one else but members of the union, and to have members fined \$2.50 by the union for the violation of any parts of the contract for the first offence. The ship owners further submitted to have the points not covered by the contract decided by the working rules of the union. About the only important working rule that has not been covered by the contract is to be found in Section 30, Article VII, of the union's constitution: "Any

member who through bad conduct on board ship brings this union into ill repute, or disgraces it, may, because the debts of any vessel shall be fined \$5 for the first offence and liable to be expelled for the second offence."

The main part of good conduct on board ship is to work hard and be submissive, and any one complying with the same will soon gain the reputation of being called a good man by the employer. The quicker a man can sling up a load of lumber the more of a union man he is. The Coast Seamen's Journal has often propagated the idea that the union man does more work than the sailors; and the principal reason is that the sailors should always hire union men. The Sailors' Union lays itself responsible for the ability as well as the moral character of its members towards the employers, as partly explained by the above constitutional provision. Applicants to membership, by paying their initiation fees and dues, are placed six months on probation before they are entitled to full membership, in order to enforce the said responsibility, and also to make sure that the applicant can tend down a royal yard in a gale and whip on board of an oil tank, a steam screw.

The past eight years on this coast have been years of immense traffic, and something had to be done to keep the wages down for the seamen as well as the lumbermen, and about the only way to it was for the ship owners to have Furuseth give them all possible assistance in binding the seamen to such a harmonious relation contract, making it a sacrament for any seaman to demand or accept from any vessel a higher wage than that described in the sacred contract.

Furuseth and his henchmen often warned sailors not to take the advantage of such benefits, as being contrary to the contract, and by telling them that they by so doing might cause the ship owners to retaliate on them some future day for their wickedness. It can be clearly seen that the ship owners have been exempted from all responsibilities as to the behavior and physical ability of their modern galley slaves, as the only real benefit the sailors have derived from payment of dues is to stand by the port and sometimes officers to rush them on board vessels when they accept a job, and have them see that they are aboard on time, and to be fined \$5, etc., for losing their job on account of being jagged. They have also paid dues to advance organized scaberry.

The Sailors' Union has worked in conjunction with strike-breakers in every strike that has taken place with the longshoremen and in the lumber mills of the coast within the last seven years. It has also set forth similar examples to this, especially in 1895 in San Francisco. It has gone so far as transporting strike-breakers to lumber camps. During all these past events Mr. Furuseth and the editor of the Coast Seamen's (McArthur's) Journal, Walter McArthur, have kept themselves busy in propagating that the Sailors' Union had done enough for others and it was about time that the sailors should do something for themselves. Many sailors have, parrot-like, repeated this phrase when told that they were helpers and strike-breakers working with strike-breakers. They dealt in such parrot phrases without considering or giving a thought of how they were at the very time tied down with contracts and other obligations to the employer, and all through the efforts of the same Furuseth and McArthur.

Through the game of craft division and job jurisdiction wars, an immense prejudice has been maintained between the sailors, longshoremen, cooks and firemen, all thinking themselves more worthy than the other.

The above is only some examples of how the working class of the Pacific have been refrained from questions pertaining to their real interest as wage workers. Andrew Furuseth and his subalterns are now engaged in giving all possible assistance to their employers by attempting to incite the sailors against the locals of the Industrial Workers of the World of the coast towns. They have discussed the probability and advisability of organizing a constitutional process of expelling members for holding W. W. membership cards. This move will not prove practical in the long run, for the Furuseth crowd are now kept busy in running ways and means to prolong their harmonious relationship with those in command in order to retain the present membership. The average seaman has nothing against the I. W. W., and there is at present a large number of seamen who would have an industrial form of organization.

In 1885 Furuseth managed to preserve the jobs of the shop owners? The Sailors' Union is no longer the expression or the will of the sailors, and neither is it the Sailors' Union of early in 1885. The question that now remains before us is, Are the sailors to be totally blamed for all the possible assistance given to the employers? To answer that it will be necessary to investigate the form of organization the sailors have been victim of. The Sailors' Union is subdivided into eight branches, established along the coast. Headquarters for the branches is in San Francisco. The executive and legislative privileges of the branches are explained by Section 28 of Article X of the constitution: "All branches shall be under the immediate jurisdiction of headquarters, and any rule adopted or any action taken by any branch shall not be considered valid until sanctioned and indorsed by headquarters." By this proviso the

branches are excluded from all forms of initiative of the general organization, except nomination of officers for general election. The quorum of headquarters meetings is packed with expressmen, saloon men, clerks, cigar-stand keepers and other similar elements that never go to sea, but hold membership in the Sailors' Union for an opportunity of sailing the sailors; and their business interest depends mostly in rendering their services for promoting and advancing Furuseth methods and advancing the principles of the I. W. W. They are the principal reason of the great division in the Sailors' Union who have participated in the Moyer and Haywood protest meeting and have liberally contributed towards the defense fund.

What is this Sailors' Union that is fighting and whining and scratching against the I. W. W., anyhow? It is nothing else but sailors' disunion and a job-owning combination controlled by the capitalist class. It is the capitalist class that keeps the workingmen divided. If the Sailors' Union were turned into a voluntary organization it would not hold another meeting.

Let every member of the Sailors' Union ask himself how many times he voted to accept and adopt any of the contracts as drafted by the officers of the union and the ship owners from the year 1901 up to the secret agreement not to be made known to the public. The Sailors' Union is simply what the capitalist class generally brands as a legitimate labor organization. Walter McArthur is hourly challenged to publish and answer this in his journal.

HENRY L. BORINI,  
San Francisco, Cal. Ex-Member.

## ECONOMIC DETERMINISM

### How Social Institutions Came into Existence Through Changing Methods of Production

#### FROM THE PAST TO THE FUTURE

BY WORD H. MILLS

##### CHAPTER XV.

The foregoing statement of what constitutes slavery defines it only in general terms. Something more fundamental is requisite in order to demonstrate the underlying reason for the development of slavery in the wage system. The fundamental principle common to all forms of slavery is the robbery of the exploited class by an exploiting class of slaves.

Under the wage system labor power is a commodity. It is subject to the same laws that govern the sale and purchase of other commodities. But the idea is made to carry with it the principle of free right of contract between buyer and seller, when as a matter of fact no such freedom exists upon the side of the dispossessed worker, and the power of coercion is all on the side of the capitalist purchaser.

The subject is a wonderfully involved one. There are multifarious phases in it, each bearing a relation to the other. And this is the great point of the analytical mind. Marx worked out with the precision of a mathematical demonstration. It is not within the province of this work to go into an exhaustive analysis of the subject. To do so would require a restatement or verbatim transcription of the Marxian demonstration, and this runs through at least a thousand pages of more or less abstract, but thoroughly convincing, reasoning.

We can here advert to the elemental part in pointing out the fact that like the chattel slave, like the serf, like the worker in service, like the peon, the wage worker is robbed by a master, possessed of a power of coercion, of the surplus product of the working class over and above the cost and maintenance of productive labor power. This once known, we must search for the source of the power of coercion that enables the economically ruling class to keep the workers in subjection.

The price at which labor-power is purchased is the wages in the money expression of value that is paid the worker for his labor power, and the same is the lowest sum at which the purchaser is able to secure it, and the capitalist class has so rigged its machinery of exploitation as to make this sum approximately the worker's subsistence. In using the term "wage" or "wages," seller and buyer of labor-power, it should be understood that class significance is intended.

The price paid for the employment of labor power may vary, and the same may be the case with the wage, but the principle involved remains constant. Unless an employer can obtain labor power at a lower price than he believes he can realize in the sale of its product no wage occurs.

In the consideration of this subject the distinction should be noted between the terms "price" and "value." The existence of living labor power implies cost of its production. The value of labor power is measured by its objective equivalent; that is to say, that a unit of labor has a value equivalent to the quantity of labor bestowed upon its production.

The value of labor power is determined, as in the case of every commodity, by the labor time necessary for the production and consequently the reproduction of a special article. Labor power itself represents as a commodity the capacity to labor of the individual already in existence. Given the individual production of labor power consists in the reproduction of himself as a means of his maintenance. Therefore the labor time requisite for the production of labor power reduces itself to that necessary for the production of his means of subsistence. In other words, the words of Marx, "the value of labor power is the value of the means of subsistence necessary for the laborer." It is this element incorporated in the product of the worker that gives value to that product. In any given locality, at a given period, the average quantity of the means of subsistence necessary for the maintenance of the laborer is practically known.

The value of labor power is the value of the means of subsistence necessary for the laborer. It is this element incorporated in the product of the worker that gives value to that product. In any given locality, at a given period, the average quantity of the means of subsistence necessary for the maintenance of the laborer is practically known.

In summing the means of subsistence, however, necessary to the production of labor power there must be included the propagation and raising of children in order that labor power in this form of reproduction of creative energy may perpetuate its appearance in the labor market.

The price of any commodity, labor power included, is the amount agreed upon between buyer and seller, which is owned by that commodity received by the member of the community; another part, the public tillable land—ager publicus—was cultivated by them in common. The products of this common labor served partly as a reserve fund against unfruitful harvests, and the other part, partly as a public store for providing the means of war, religion and other common expenses. Later on millions and clerical dignitaries usurped along with the common land, the labor spent upon it. This developed into a servile relationship that existed under the name of serfdom. In serfdom the essential principle of slavery obtains—the appropriation by the master of the surplus of labor's product.

In civilization, under the capitalist state, the process of exploitation has become so complex, that it involves so many factors, that it is more difficult to acquire any clear conception of how these processes function. And especially it is difficult for the lay mind to grasp the fundamentals of the system of wage exploitation by reason of the capitalist environment that has in

for all of it. They are the ones that have and still control the Sailors' Union administration.

They are capitalist mouthpieces that openly proclaimed that they would sooner have seen Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone dangling at the end of a rope than see the constitution of the A. F. of L. change one iota. By that they meant that the constitution of the A. F. of L. was in danger of being changed by the I. W. W., all the I. W. W. were assisted to down the mine owners' conspiracy. Nevertheless, there has been many individual members of the Sailors' Union who have participated in the Moyer and Haywood protest meeting and have liberally contributed towards the defense fund.

What is this Sailors' Union that is fighting and whining and scratching against the I. W. W., anyhow? It is nothing else but sailors' disunion and a job-owning combination controlled by the capitalist class. It is the capitalist class that keeps the workingmen divided. If the Sailors' Union were turned into a voluntary organization it would not hold another meeting.

Let every member of the Sailors' Union ask himself how many times he voted to accept and adopt any of the contracts as drafted by the officers of the union and the ship owners from the year 1901 up to the secret agreement not to be made known to the public.

The Sailors' Union is simply what the capitalist class generally brands as a legitimate labor organization. Walter McArthur is hourly challenged to publish and answer this in his journal.

peculiar commodity which is embodied only in flesh and blood—in the worker. Wages, therefore, are not the workers' share of the commodities they produce. Wages—the price of labor power—are produced, with which the employer purchased a certain amount of productive labor power.

When the working man sells his labor power, the moment his labor actually begins it ceases to belong to him. The price of labor of his time goes to the purchaser. We have seen that wages is the money form of means of subsistence. But this money wage which is the price at which the laborer sells his commodity, labor power, is not a value equivalent of his product. It is only a part of it.

The other part, the surplus over and above the necessary labor time, is the property of the capitalist purchaser, and swells the wealth of the latter by so much. Wealth is stored up energy of productive labor power in concrete form. The capitalist is the capitalist of this surplus value over and above the cost of labor's production and maintenance, coincident with the power of coercion that makes the system possible, constitutes the essential element inherent in every form of slave labor.

The working class is therefore robbed in the mine, the field, the factory and in every place where its labor is produced.

Let us try to make the situation clear in a concrete way.

Let us suppose an average working day of ten hours. Accepted statistics show that seventeen per cent of the product of the working class is what that class receives of its product. Eighty-three per cent of it is appropriated by the master class. One hour and forty-two minutes, then, represents that part of the day the worker produces for himself. The remaining eight hours and eighteen minutes his labor to produce a surplus which goes to the master. The one hour and forty-two minutes of his labor represents the necessary production of the working class. Eighteen hours and eighteen minutes of his product represents the necessary production of the capitalist class. The proportion of free time to the working day is one hour and forty-two minutes to the eight hours and eighteen minutes of his product. The price of labor power in the market, then, differs from its value; the price of ten hours' labor is \$2; its value is \$3 per cent more.

As the capitalist's caught conception of the value of labor is not a rational explanation for the value of labor power, it follows that the price of labor must always be less than the value it produces; for the capitalist class always compels labor power to work longer than is necessary for the reproduction of its own value.

It is in the conception of value and price as taught by capitalism that the workers have so long been mystified and deceived. They have tried to make it appear that the price paid in wages is the value of labor power, and that a matter of fact they paid for but one hour and forty-two minutes, while the eight hours and eighteen minutes labor never was paid for. That surplus constituted a product representing the unpaid wages of their labor.

Thus it has been that the wage system has systematically extinguished every trace of the division of the working day into necessary labor and surplus labor, into paid and unpaid labor. All labor has been made to mean as paid labor, the necessary labor concealing the unexpired labor of the wage slave.

This phenomenal form, which makes the actual relation invisible, and which is made to appear to show the direct opposite of that relation, forms the basis of all the juridical notions of both laborer and capitalist, of all the mystifications of the capitalist mode of production, of all illusions as to liberty, of all the apologetic shifts of what Marx denounces as the vulgar economists.

But under the now existing system of production not all the working people are employed. In the days when the tools of production were simple, they were easily obtained and the worker could easily obtain his own labor power. Land, especially in the western continent, was easily accessible. The worker

engaged in handicraft production owned his tools, and the product was his. The farmer could own his land, and its yield was his. Products were for use. The worker had a measure of economic freedom. Up to 1867 the word "tramp" had not been coined. The "beggar" was such either from choice or because of physical disability that incapacitated him for productive labor.

The last half century has wrought vast changes. The inventive genius of the working class has harnessed the power of nature, and the tool has developed into the complex machine utilized in mine, field and factory. The machine has displaced the handicraft method of production, and with it the workers themselves. The capitalists, under the laws of the state, have so arranged that only a part of the workers shall be employed, and those during long hours of intense and minutely specialized labor. The remainder of available labor power is thus made to constitute a reserve corps whose economic necessities are too familiar with the process involved in this phenomenon for it to need extended elucidation. The existence of the "army of the unemployed" spells untold poverty and suffering and degradation and crime.

Through the process involved in capitalist evolution the social means of production have changed ownership. The workers no longer own the tools necessary for production. That ownership has become vested in the hands of a class that does not use them except as a means of exploitation. That ownership is represented by pieces of paper called stocks and bonds held by members of social parasites—who, doing no useful social productive labor, refuse the workers access to the means of production only upon the terms the parasites dictate. And the laws of the state not only sanction this system of holding the workers in subjection, but enforce the decree that wages service an economic thralldom wherein existence is even more precarious than in any other form of human slavery known to history.

(Continued next week.)

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## Industrial Unionism—Means and Methods—Active and Passive Action.

By Wm. A. Trautmann

(Note.—The matter following under this head is the third installment of a series, which, when completed and revised, will be printed as the Second Handbook on Industrial Unionism.)

### ANTIQUATED AND OUTWORN METHODS.

In the days of handicraft the journeymen of a given trade would form their guilds; primarily founded to foster the fraternal spirit and enforce strict observance of trades among the journeymen, they often entered into compacts with the guild-masters in instituting restrictive measures for the elimination of competition among those who were permitted to become journeymen and masters as well, thus establishing a certain monopoly in the opportunities to gain accession to the ranks of either.

With the advent of manufacture on larger scale, the guild-master was gradually eliminated, but skill and handicraft were still required in the operation of certain parts of manufacturing concerns. Small manufacturers were competing against each other in the market; the skilled mechanics, as long as same was not overstocked, took advantage of the fact that the demands exceeded the supply; manufacturers often profited from the predicament of others in the same line of business in their having trouble with the mechanics; trades unions embracing workers in the same mechanical vocation irrespective of what kind of factory employed, resembled in forms, methods, as well as their relations to the employers, the guilds of yore.

### Strikes of Crafts.

A strike of tradesmen in one manufacturing concern could be made successful on account of these conditions; the walk-out from one establishment of all craftsmen could stop the work completely. A manufacturing concern which was declared a "rat shop" was frequently unable to secure mechanics; the method of declaring such concerns unfair restrained them in the operation of the establishment; trades unions were thus successful by employing these methods to gain demands for their members.

### Craft Strikes in Many Shops.

Even after manufacturers combined together for mutual self-protection, it often happened that skilled mechanics in all shops of a given industry could monopolize the jobs and paralyze manufacture, because their skill was still required and by restrictive rules enforced in these unions, they took care that human dispasers were not available in times of disagreement on terms of employment. Other workers in the shops of that same industry, with the development of the industrial system, increased to be the majority of the total number employed, were absolutely at the mercy of those holding the monopoly over skilled pursuits, and they were never allowed to combine for their own self-protection, because at the same ratio that they could be kept unorganized were the craft unionists able to prosper at their expense.

### Craft Union Strikes Successful.

Strikes of craftsmen could thus be carried on with good success, although in most of such strikes the majority of employees of a given shop had no interest whatever, they becoming involved only because the proportionately few whose skill and higher workmanship were needed would suspend work when their own craft interests were to be protected, without regard to the others.

### Craft Unionists' Selfishness.

It often happened (and there are thousands of proofs of this fact) that the craft unionists, after attaining their ends, would return to work regardless of any eventual grievance of the others, who were also forced into idleness by the suspension caused by the craft unionists, and who were either unorganized or sometimes members of another craft union. And there are hundred of instances on record when these latter would not return to work at the same time when the originators of a suspension of work had their demands acceded to. But even if their places would be filled by others little concern was shown by the satisfied craft unionists; they had gained a victory, although won only at the expense of the others. "Craft unity" proved to be the reverse of working class solidarity.

### Struggle for the Job.

Such is the story of every craft union in England, but more so in the United States of America. It was only a continuous fight for a "better job" or improved implements of production and the subdividing process of manufacture displaced the number and reduced the proportion of expert workers; those craftsmen displaced sought redress in other fields; the craft unions were used to expand the jurisdiction of each craft, others resisted against the encroachments, the jurisdiction squabbles between the various craft unions are the result of this fight for "new jobs" for the members for each particular trade, and while new machines and improved methods of production tend to eliminate evermore every and all trade demarcations, the craft unionists establish their own craft jurisdictions, the strike of one craft against another craft in the same industry was and is a common occurrence but these strikes are, on a larger scale only, the continuation of the efforts of the earlier craft unionist to "protect" his particular craft or "job."

### Scaberry of Craft Unions Against Craft Unions.

Thousands of cases could be enumerated where one craft union filled the places of striking or locked-out members of another craft union under the pretext that their "craft" had jurisdiction over that kind of work. To analyze the causes more in detail, let us investigate one case:

Carpenters, who are organized in a national union and chartered by the American Federation of Labor, are frequently taking the places of members of the Amalgamated Woodworkers, a national union, also chartered by the American Federation of Labor. The most glaring example of this sort of craft union scaberry was presented in the jurisdiction conflict in the Brunswick-Collender Co. in Chicago, New York and other places in 1906 and 1907. The places of hundreds of locked-out woodworkers (union men) were filled by carpenters (union men). The Brunswick-Collender Co. are manufacturers of saloon, billiard room and restaurant fixtures, mostly cabinet work. But in the building industry new constructive methods have displaced the carpenter; wooden buildings and bridges had to make place to buildings of steel, brick and concrete material. The carpenters are losing their "jobs" in the building construction industry; they have to look for new fields for work. The original factory woodworkers, organized in the Amalgamated Workers National Union, has established certain working conditions; the craft union nose of the displaced carpenter led him into these fields; being stronger in numbers, the craft union of carpenters could use its dominating power not against the manufacturers, but against another craft union. The (I.W.W.) was to displace the woodworkers and put the carpenters (also a working class) out of an altogether different industry into new vacancies thus created. Again a lesson of the theory "that craft unionists profit and enjoy their conditions only at the expense of others, and that 'craft union activity' is solely confined to the protection of a job or 'jobs' for each particular trade or craft."

The history of every trade union organization, with not one solitary exception, is a constant repetition of scaberry of one craft against another; craft union methods applied to conserve the interests of one group at the expense of all other groups of workers have divided the workers into warring factions to the great elation of the employers of labor.

### Craft Union Methods Aid the Employers.

Constant irritation and eventual interruption in the operation of plants, even if a proportionately few craft unionists were responsible, was always annoy to and injurious to the manufacturers. The struggle for some time straining every nerve, compressive and coercive methods by the strong arm of all manufacturers' auxiliaries, the government agencies included, did not yield satisfactory results. With keen eyes the manufacturers soon observed the scramble for "good jobs" among the various craft unionists; they noticed the repeated turn-downs of the larger mass by the craft unionists in almost every industry. To establish harmonious relations with the separate craft unions, in order to be safeguarded against disturbances by the uncontrollable "mob," was a command of their alert business instincts, and they rightly imagined that the jealousies thus created between the various branches of workers would supply inexhaustible fuel to bitter feuds and conflicts between the employes. Thus the employers of labor found that the best "auxiliary" for the protection of their business relations was a contract with the various craft unions, by which they could tie down a portion of workers and make them obedient to the master's wishes for such lengths of time as suited the employers, and, as was necessary for them, for the uninterrupted operation of the factories, mills and mines when the least friction with the workers assured them the enjoyment of secure profits and safe interests on their investments. Observing that the great mass of workers would hesitate and be afraid to make any move for fear that the portion tied down by a contract would act as traitors against them, the capitalists succeeded in using the "craft union methods" of entering into sacred contracts as a weapon in their hands by which the workers are now kept divided against themselves and in each other's hair all the time.

### Serving Notice to the Enemy of Impending Conflict.

But to make sure that the craft unions would not adopt methods that could be harmful to the interests of the capitalists, the latter realized that it was necessary for them to make such provisions in the "sacred contracts" by which the craft unionists were even deprived of the right to choose for themselves the time when they would have to enter into open conflict with the employers, or to select the industry or place where the battles would be fought out most successfully for the workers.

By virtue of such contracts all large national craft unions were compelled to serve notice to the manufacturers in the different industries when any systematic move on a large scale would be made to enforce in a branch of a certain industry certain stipulated working conditions. The International Association of Machinists, for instance, gave about two years notice to the manufacturers at what date the strike for the inauguration of the nine hour

workday would begin; the printers gave about one year's notice about their contemplated move for the eight-hour work-day; in fact, every large craft union adheres to this policy.

The manufacturers, thus given warning, could always prepare themselves for a long-lasting suspension of operations, when necessary engage strike-breakers in advance or store up goods in anticipation of a protracted struggle.

For instance, the coal mine owners (operators) knew always months ahead; that is since the "United Mine Workers" entered into contract with them, when demands for improved working conditions would be made, they always stored up enough coal in advance to be prepared for a suspension of work by the miners. In the case of the miners the mines they could not sell the accumulated coal for higher prices, while the mine workers were always compelled to accept the terms of the operators. The coal miners, by giving advance notices to their exploiters of their institutions helped to defeat themselves in every battle. And this is the case in every industry where workers have adopted "craft union methods" in their dealings with the enemy, the employing class; thus demonstrating time and again that craft unions help the employers in defeating the workers in wage wars.

### Big Funds of No Avail.

While employers and labor leaders would preach the harmony of interests, so to be safeguarded during the terms of a contract, the workers themselves were made to believe that large funds were necessary to maintain the conditions once established.

Big funds were accumulated, and in the event of rupture after expiration of agreements the workers prepared themselves for long-lasting conflicts. "Let us fight capital with capital" was the slogan. But while the employers were forewarned by the advance notices given, the workers would use up the accumulated funds and pay alone the costs of war with the employing class. The capitalists, having time for preparation, could wait in ease until the big funds were exhausted and then dictate the terms of settlement and employment.

### Employers Dividing the Workers.

But craft union methods and usages could not subdue the rebellious spirit of all workers. Every day occurrences only emphasize the fact that craft union influence is wan and detestable to the large mass of wage earners. More so had the capitalist good grounds to depend on these unions for relief when in trouble. Hundreds of cases could be cited when large bodies of workers would apply industrial union methods and act in concert, and in a spontaneous manifestation of their feeling ignore all pleas of the employers for "harmony and peace." But in fifty per cent of such cases the craft union leaders would immediately intervene at the behest of the capitalists; they would enter into agreements with the employers for their respective craft unions, although not having one solitary man or woman as members of the

## A Brief History of the Industrial Union Manifesto

BY WM. E. TRAUTMANN

(This article is reprinted on account of a typographical misprint in last week's paper)

It was more important at that Cincinnati convention of the A. F. of L. to get rid of Pomeroy, the political opponent of the machine bosses, than it was to the support of struggling workers.

Ed. Boyce and the other delegate of the Western Federation of Miners felt that that organization could not expect relief from its woes and sufferings from a body mostly composed of wire-pulling politicians. In the big Music Hall in Cincinnati, Boyce slightly intimated that the resort to armed force would eventually be the only hope of securing redress for the appalling wrongs heaped upon the struggling miners, and as a social entertainment given in honor of the Socialist delegates to the American Federation of Labor, Boyce predicted that a separation of the working class elements from the capitalist class tools and politicians would be an inevitable process, and he appealed, on that occasion, to all those whose hearts were true and whose working class spirit was undaunted to stand in the impending hours of tribulation with the pioneers of the West, who would blaze the way for a real working class movement on the economic field.

Immediately after his return to the West, Ed. Boyce advocated the separation of the Western Federation of Miners from the American Federation of Labor, and this was accomplished, and prepared with others the ground for the formation of the Western Labor Union from new elements and the remnants of the fast decaying Knights of Labor.\*

The Western Labor Union, organized in 1898 at Salt Lake City, with the backing of the Western Federation of Miners, was neither in clearness of programs nor in its working methods equal to the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance, although many of its most active workers, notably Clarence Smith and a few others, tried hard but failed ultimately to make it a real revolutionary working class organization. The change of name at the Denver convention in June, 1902, into American Labor Union and expansion of territory adopted at the suggestion of Eugene V. Debs, in no way altered the fact that the American Labor Union was only used as a buffer between the American Federation of Labor and the Western Federation of Miners, because if the fathers of the A. F. of L. were kept busy in their efforts to annihilate the American Labor Union they could not center their nefarious destructive propaganda against the Western Federation of Miners.

But the fact that the Western Labor Union, or American Labor Union, respectively, declared in its program for the social ownership of the means of production and distribution, although it was to be attained by voting alone, brought into its fold at its inception thousands of workers who instinctively felt that the organization distinguished itself alone by this declaration from the existing capitalist class auxiliaries, the craft unions. Thus the corrupting influences of craft unionism in disguise, such as Dan McDonald, Reeve Davis, Dave Coates and his cohorts of slimy political job hunters, drew the best elements out of the American Labor Union again and nearly shipwrecked the organization completely in the interest of the capitalist class, in no way alter the fact that the American Labor Union was an inevitable product of working class ambitions and aims, and to lack of experience with the cunning tactics of the enemy, the capitalist class, is solely due the impotency of the American Labor Union as an economic factor for the constructive work in the labor movement in America. In the fiercest fire of attack by the capitalists and their allies—the lieutenants of the American Federation of Labor—the Western Labor Union stood the test and cemented its strength, but when the slick and cunning work of the capitalist benchmen began to show itself in the methods and propaganda tactics, the germs of decay soon penetrated the whole body and the inv-

unions they claimed to represent. They would even go so far as to guarantee the filling of places of strikers, if the workers formerly employed in positions covered by that craft union would refuse to return to work under the conditions of contract made at the behest of the employers by labor leaders. Or the employers would promise in such critical events higher wages and better conditions for members of a given craft so to separate them from the rest of the strikers or locked-out comrades, and beat one portion of workers after another piecemeal.

### Yonkers Local Approves

We, the members of Local No. 91, Yonkers, N. Y., in regular meeting assembled, do approve of the prompt and direct answer to the W. F. of M. by the W. W. general officers, as published in the Industrial Union Bulletin of January 25, 1908, on the so-called unity conference to be held in Chicago, Ill., April 6th, 1908.

PETER JACOBSON,  
J. A. CLINE, Committee.

### Entertainment and Dance

Under the auspices of the I. W. W. Headquarters League an entertainment and dance will be held at German-American Assembly Rooms, 3395 Third Avenue (near 166th L station), New York City, on Saturday evening, February 29, 1908. Tickets, 15 cents a person, including wardrobe. A most pleasant and enjoyable evening to all who attend this affair is guaranteed by the committee.

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LOW we give a partial list of books which we are prepared to supply to readers of this paper. As will be seen the list contains many of the books with the contents of which Industrial Unionists should be familiar. They range from light, but instructive pamphlets, to the scientific and philosophical works of Labriola, Morgan and Marx. Any book in the list will be sent, postage paid, on receipt of price, and we ask all members of the organization and readers of this paper to order their books from us.

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